Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 EURE-00 TRSE-00 OMB-01 ACDA-07 /060 W

-----141845Z 066217 /45

O R 141822Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9047
INFO USMISSION USBERLIN
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION NATO

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV WB GE UR GW US UK FR

SUBJECT: GDR THREATS AGAINST PLANNED CDU MEETING IN BERLIN

REFS: (A) BONN 9908; (B) STATE 134313; (C) BONN 9743

BEGIN SUMMARY. PARIS HAS REQUESTED CHANGES IN THE PRELIMINARY TEXT OF THE DRAFT ALLIED PROTEST TO THE SOVIETS TRANSMITTED IN REF (C). WHILE ONE OF THE CHANGES WOULD NOT SERIOUSLY WEAKEN THE PRESENT DRAFT, THE OTHER WOULD, IN THE VIEW OF THE OTHER BONN GROUP REPS, CHANGE THE THRUST OF THE PROTEST IN AN UNACCEPTABLE WAY. THE US REP WILL CONTINUE TO ARGUE AGAINST THAT PROPOSAL UNLESS THE DEPARTMENT IS WILLING TO ACCEPT IT. END SUMMARY.

1. THE FRENCH BONN GROUP REP (GAUSSOT) CALLED A MEETING CONFIDENTIAL

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LATE THIS AFTERNOON TO REPORT INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING THE DRAFT CONTINGENCY ALLIED PROTEST TO THE SOVIETS. CONTRARY TO THE PRELIMINARY INFORMATION HE HAD RECEIVED DURING THE JUNE 13 MEETING (PARA 9, REF A), GAUSSOT WAS INSTRUCTED TO REQUEST CHANGES IN THE DRAFT TEXT (PARA 11, REF C).

- 2. PARIS WOULD LIKE TO DELETE BOTH THE SECOND AND THIRD SENTENCES OF THE FIRST PARAGRAPH OF THE DRAFT TEXT, BELIEVING THAT IT WAS USELESS AND NOT VERY SKILLFUL TO DESCRIBE AT LENGTH WHAT THE GDR HAD DONE. IF TRANSIT WERE IMPEDED, IT WOULD BE ILLEGAL; IT WOULD BE USELESS TO DISCUSS MOTIVES. (AS REPORTED REF A, THE UK HAD ALREADY REQUESTED DELETION OF THE THIRD SENTENCE OF THE FIRST PARAGRAPH.)
- 3. PARIS ALSO ASKED FOR A MAJOR REVISION OF THE SECOND SENTENCE OF THE THIRD PARAGRAPH OF THE DRAFT ("THERE IS NO JUSTIFICATION IN THE QA..."). PARIS THOUGHT THAT THE SENTENCE AS WRITTEN WAS "TOO WEAK" AND THAT IT WOULD BE "BETTER AND STRONGER" IF WORDED AS FOLLOWS:

"THE QA GUARANTEES UNIMPEDED TRANSIT TRAFFIC EXCEPT IN SPECIAL CASES ALL OF WHICH HAVE BEEN DEFINED."

4. THE OTHER THREE REPS WERE OF THE OPINION THAT, WHILE IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE TO RETAIN THE SECOND SENTENCE OF THE FIRST PARAGRAPH (AND THE US AND FRG REPS CONTINUED TO ARGUE IN FAVOR OF THE THIRD SENTENCE AS WELL), THESE SENTENCES WERE NOT INDISPENSABLE TO THE PROTEST. NONE OF THE REPS, HOWEVER, WAS WILLING TO RECOMMEND TO CAPITALS ACCEPTANCE OF THE FRENCH CHANGE TO THE THIRD PARAGRAPH.

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- 5. THE US REP POINTED OUT THAT THE FRENCH SUGGESTION WAS TECHNICALLY INACCURATE, IN THAT THERE WAS NO QA "GUARANTEE" OF UNIMPEDED TRANSIT, ONLY A SOVIET UNDERTAKING TO THAT EFFECT. THIS HAD ALREADY BEEN STATED IN THE FIRST SENTENCE OF THE THIRD PARAGRAPH, SO THAT IN ANY CASE THE ENTIRE PARAGRAPH WOULD HAVE TO BE REDRAFTED IF THE FRENCH IDEA WERE ACCEPTED. ASIDE FROM THAT, HOWEVER, ACCEPTANCE OF THE FRENCH IDEA WOULD OPEN THE WAY TO CONTROVERSY WITH THE SOVIETS OVER TECHNICAL POINTS.
- 6. THE US REP RECALLED THAT, DURING THE DRAFTING SESSIONS ON THE AUGUST 1976 STERNFAHRT PROTEST, THE BONN GROUP HAD BEGUN WITH AN ATTEMPT TO DO JUST WHAT PARIS WAS RECOMMENDING NOW -- I.E., TO POINT OUT THAT THE QA GIVES ONLY LIMITED INSTANCES IN WHICH TRAFFIC CAN BE DELAYED FOR INSPECTIONS AND THE LIKE. THE DILEMMA ON WHICH THAT EFFORT FINALLY FOUNDERED WAS THAT IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO NOTE EXPLICITLY OR

IMPLICITLY THAT ONE OF THE FEW GROUNDS FOR IMPEDING

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TRAFFIC WAS SUSPECTED MISUSE OF THE TRANSIT ROUTES. IT WOULD THEN BE NECESSARY TO DENY THAT SUCH GROUNDS EXISTED IN THE INSTANCE CASE -- AND THUS FOR THE ALLIES TO ENGAGE IN A DEBATE WITH THE SOVIETS OVER THE NATURE OF THE EVIDENCE WHICH THE GDR WAS PRESENTING TO SUPPORT A SUSPICION OF MISUSE. IN THE END, THE BONN GROUP HAD RECOMMENDED, AND ALL FOUR CAPITALS HAD AGREED, THAT IT WAS FAR PREFERABLE TO STATE FORTHRIGHTLY THAT DISLIKE OF A TRAVELLER'S REASONS FOR GOING TO BERLIN WAS NOT AN ACCEPTABLE BASIS FOR IMPEDING TRANSIT.

7. THE UK AND FRG REPS AGREED, GIVEN THE FACT THAT IF THERE IS INTERFERENCE WITH TRAFFIC THE MOTIVES OF THE GDR WILL BE CLEAR, THAT IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE TO STAY WITH THE ORIGINAL BONN GROUP DRAFT OF PARA THREE, CONFIDENTIAL

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WHICH HAD NOW BEEN APPROVED BY WASHINGTON, LONDON, AND BONN. GAUSSOT AGREED TO REPORT THIS VIEW BACK TO PARIS.

8. COMMENT: WHILE SUCH ARGUMENTS MAY BE PREMATURE. SINCE ALL CAPITALS WILL WISH TO REVIEW THE TEXT OF THE PROTEST BEFORE IT IS ACTUALLY DELIVERED, WE BELIEVE IT IS VALUABLE IN THE INTEREST OF MAKING A SPEEDY PROTEST IF ONE IS REQUIRED TO BE DEBATING THE ISSUES THIS WEEK RATHER THAN NEXT. THE EMBASSY CONSIDERS THAT THE PROTEST WOULD STILL BE ADEQUATE FOR GETTING THE NECESSARY MESSAGE ACROSS TO THE SOVIETS QUICKLY WITHOUT THE LAST TWO SENTENCES OF THE FIRST PARAGRAPH, AND EVEN WITHOUT THE FINAL PORTION OF THE SECOND PARAGRAPH IF LONDON CONTINUES TO INSIST ON DELETION OF THAT PORTION AS WELL. WE WOULD THUS PROPOSE TO ACCEPT THOSE DELETIONS IF NECESSARY TO REACH EARLY AGREEMENT. WE DO NOT BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT THE PROTEST WOULD BE ADEQUATE IF THE THIRD PARAGRAPH WERE CHANGED ALONG LINES SUGGESTED BY PARIS, AND THE US REP WILL ARGUE FOR RETENTION OF THE ORIGINAL TEXT OF THAT PARAGRAPH UNLESS INSTRUCTED TO THE CONTRARY. STOESSEL

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